

Iraq, have been torturing prisoners. They have done this with the institutional approval of the U.S. government advised by memoranda from the President's own counsel, with official declarations aimed at sidestepping the historic safeguards of the Geneva Conventions, and with actual written policies permitting the use of "moderate physical force" (from Mark Danner in his excellent articles on torture in the *New York Review of Books*)—policies that violate rulings by our courts, the European Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Court, and the Supreme Court of Israel. By the military's own calculation, an estimated 80 percent of prisoners subjected to this treatment are innocent of any wrongdoing.

No amount of military power will make up for what we lose if the world at large believes that, despite our years of rhetorical support for rights and democracy, we are prepared to compromise them the moment our own lives become threatened. The dreadful story told by these photographs (and we have not seen the worst of them) has done enormous damage to our moral standing, our strategic power, and our spirit.

Today much of the world believes that there is a difference between what Americans claim to stand for and what we actually do in the world. According to a 19 nation poll released last week, a majority now thinks that the United States is having a negative influence on the world; only 37 percent judge our country as having a "positive influence." Listen to the countries polled: Canada, Chile, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Turkey, Uruguay and Italy—and yes, the United States itself. This is an enormous change from the days after September 11 when a French newspaper proclaimed: "We are all Americans."

Today, we stand more alone in the world than we ever have.

This decline in our reputation is a decline in our security. We live "unavoidably side by side," Kant said two hundred years ago. But even this great philosopher could not have imagined how enmeshed nations and peoples have become today. Thus what happens in one part of the world—the dramatic increase in poverty and inequality, the failure to address the terrible consequences of global warming, the catastrophe of AIDS, the nineteen civil wars currently active, the persistence of oil-related crises mixed to dangerous combustion with religious or ethnic conflict in Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Chad and Indonesia—this will blow back on us. Global problems, no matter how remote they appear, will increasingly affect everything in our daily lives—from the imperative transition from a fossil fuel energy system (which will happen in our lifetime), to the air we breathe, to the diseases we face, to the safety of the cities we inhabit.

These problems cannot be solved with military might alone. They cannot be solved within our borders. And they cannot be solved without friends.

Thus we must address the damage that has been done in our name—no matter how far up the chain of command this requires. For our spirit and our security, we must demonstrate that we are a nation of law, democracy, and decency. We must show the world that we will apply, at the very least, the same standards to our own leaders as we have to Salvadoran generals.

Which brings me to you—the "strange birds" of 2004.

This is your precipice. What will you do about it? What will you do to awaken in yourselves and others a new sense of responsibility for our country and for this world? How will you fight to make your leaders conduct themselves "as if they were going to

live on this earth forever and be held accountable for its condition?"

The question is not whether you will be chickens or eagles. You have no choice. You are living in the most powerful country in the world. You are graduating from one of the best universities in the world. Tomorrow you will hold a certificate that does much to ensure your place among the most fortunate of this world. But just as that Salvadoran woman in El Mozote once put it to me, I shall put it to you: You are eagles. The choice you face is whether you will dare to fly.

Survey data on your generation as a whole is not very promising. It says that you are primarily interested in acquisition, that you define yourself in terms of possessions rather than "goods of the soul." You are self-interested and care little for developing a moral code, much less for assuming some type of global political responsibility. You do not want to be eagles at all, we are told, but rather successful chickens in a very well ordered barnyard.

At Stanford our experience is different. Here students work on women's health in Afghanistan and Chiapas, democracy in China and Kyrgyzstan, and war crimes in Rwanda and the Hague. Students build schools in Central America, assist AIDS orphans in South Africa, develop medicines for low income countries, test development strategies, provide education programs for inner-city kids, create a journal to promote human rights, and volunteer in virtually every community service organization imaginable. Yet some of these very same students are reluctant to show that they are not simply hard-nosed realists or self-interested balancers of costs and benefits. It is almost as if they hear whispering in their ears the German poet Holderlin, who wrote around 1800 an essay entitled *Good Advice*. Listen to his advice: "If you have brains and a heart, show only one or the other. You will not get credit for either should you show both at once."

This isn't good advice at all.

Your university years have been defined by two distinct crimes against humanity—September 11 and torture in Iraq. Whatever their differences (and they are different), the lesson from these two crimes is the same: our own security is intimately bound up with our ability to use both our hearts and our brains, to empathize as well as analyze. Crimes like 9/11 or the torture of Iraqi prisoners can only occur when the victims are defined as something less than human; they can only be portrayed as permissible when all lives are not valued equally. Their prevention rests on our capacity to affirm the principles of equal respect, and to expand, not contract, human rights protections both at home and abroad.

Being an eagle means becoming citizens who are not simply Americans but who are citizens of this earth. It means raising, not lowering, the bar.

We are at a turning point. For all of you who feel helpless, who despair, who are cynical and who do not feel like eagles, remember this. "There are only two kinds of people who tell you that you cannot change the world: those who are afraid to try themselves, and more importantly, those who are afraid that you may succeed."

Instead, think of Margaret Mead's well-known phrase: "Never say that the actions of one, two or three ordinary people cannot change the world. It is the only thing that does." Think of Carlos Mauricio, who faced down an abuser. Think of all those people who give a piece of themselves every day, who speak out against the brutality they see, who try to stop impoverishment and the despoiling of our environment, and who understand that ultimately the world cannot

be peaceful if some have far too much and others far too little.

Take inspiration from these eagles.

Shake yourselves, spread your wings and lift off. Whether you run a business or a community organization, a clinic or a school, assume responsibility for the long-range prospects of our country and our troubled earth. Aim high for a world without war and without genocide, a world of respect for all, a world that is far greater than the one we are handing to you. Because, as Eleanor Roosevelt said, "The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams."

Congratulations, and may you fly!

PAYING TRIBUTE TO DR. MARY VADER

HON. SCOTT McINNIS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 16, 2004

Mr. McINNIS. Mr. Speaker, today I rise with great joy to pay tribute to Dr. Mary Vader of Montrose, Colorado. "Dr. Mary," as many of her patients call her, dedicates her work and service to the health and well being of others. In recognition of her service, Dr. Mary was recently awarded the Harold E. Williamson award, and I think it is appropriate to recognize her accomplishments before this body of Congress and this nation today.

Dr. Mary is a native of Western Colorado, leaving only for a short period during her professional training. In the early 1990s, she took a position as a partner with Pediatric Associates, a pediatric clinic in Montrose. In addition to her dedication to her practice, she has done much to share her knowledge and to give back to the Montrose community. She played a major role in establishing "Dream Catchers" in Western Colorado, an organization that provides therapy for disabled children using the assistance of horses. Additionally, Dr. Mary helped start and continues to volunteer for the Montrose Medical Mission, a non-profit medical clinic providing free care to uninsured patients.

Dr. Mary also acts as a consulting physician for the Child Abuse Response Team of the 7th Judicial District and helps with the training for Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners. The COPIC Medical Foundation recently honored Dr. Mary with its 2003 Harold E. Williamson Award, and made a generous donation to the Montrose Medical Clinic in her name.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Dr. Mary Vader for her tireless efforts to better her Montrose Community. Her efforts have tremendously contributed to the health and wellness of her community. I wish to thank her for her service and wish her the best in her future endeavors.

NATIONAL MEN'S HEALTH WEEK AND DR. KENNETH GOLDBERG

HON. MICHAEL C. BURGESS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 16, 2004

Mr. BURGESS. Mr. Speaker, it is my duty to clearly state the necessity of men's health awareness. This week is National Men's Health Week, and it comes at an important